



Cronfa - Swansea University Open Access Repository

This is an author produced version of a paper published in:

International Journal of Care and Caring

Cronfa URL for this paper:

<http://cronfa.swan.ac.uk/Record/cronfa49001>

Paper:

Keating, N., Funk, L., Fast, J. & Min, J. (2019). Life course trajectories of family care. *International Journal of Care and Caring*

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1332/239788219X15473079319309>

Distributed under the terms of a Creative Commons CC-BY 4.0 Licence.

This item is brought to you by Swansea University. Any person downloading material is agreeing to abide by the terms of the repository licence. Copies of full text items may be used or reproduced in any format or medium, without prior permission for personal research or study, educational or non-commercial purposes only. The copyright for any work remains with the original author unless otherwise specified. The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holder.

Permission for multiple reproductions should be obtained from the original author.

Authors are personally responsible for adhering to copyright and publisher restrictions when uploading content to the repository.

<http://www.swansea.ac.uk/library/researchsupport/ris-support/>



Accepted for publication 27 November 2018 • First published online 13 April 2019

This article is distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-

NonCommercial 4.0 license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>) which

permits adaptation, alteration, reproduction and distribution for non-commercial use,

without further permission provided the original work is attributed. The derivative works do not need to be licensed on the same terms

article

Life course trajectories of family care

Norah Keating, norah.keating@ualberta.ca

University of Alberta, Canada, Swansea University, UK, and
North-West University, South Africa

Jacquie Eales, jeales@ualberta.ca

University of Alberta, Canada

Laura Funk, Laura.Funk@umanitoba.ca

University of Manitoba, Canada

Janet Fast, jfast@ualberta.ca

University of Alberta, Canada

Joohong Min, joohong1234@gmail.com

Jeju National University, South Korea

More than 30 years ago, Elder theorised multiple life-course trajectories in domains such as family and work, punctuated by transitions that create the structure and rhythm of individual lives. We argue that in the context of population ageing, family care should be added as a life-course domain. We conceptualise life courses of family care with core elements of 'care as doing' and 'care as being in relationship', creating hypothetical family care trajectories to illustrate the diversity of life-course patterns of care. The framework provides a basis for considering influences of care on cumulative advantage/disadvantage for family carers.

key words family care • life courses of family care • family carers • life-course theory

To cite this article: Keating, N., Eales, J., Funk, L., Fast, J. and Min, J. (2019) 'Life course trajectories of family care', *International Journal of Care and Caring*,

DOI: 10.1332/239788219X15473079319309

Introduction

There is increasing global consciousness of carers' integral role in supporting family members with chronic health problems and disabilities. In developing countries,

families have long been carers by default, where normative imperatives align with the structural absence of formal options (Sabzwari et al, 2016). The need for and fragility of care in these regions are amplified by pandemics, wars and other forces generating family instability. In more developed regions, care has also largely fallen to families, with support for family carers more or less available depending on national perspectives on care as a public issue or a private family responsibility (Keating and De Jong Gierveld, 2015). Chronic care needs and concern about family capabilities in these regions are linked to family structural changes (Fingerman et al, 2012), increasing care complexity and difficulties in balancing employment and family demands (Eifert et al, 2016). In light of these challenges, carer advocacy organisations and academic researchers alike have raised alarm about the sustainability of the family care sector (EuroCarers Association, 2016; Moen and DePasquale, 2017).

Family carers comprise a substantial and growing proportion of the population. Estimates are that there are 6 million family carers in the UK, which is expected to rise to 9 million by 2037 (Carers UK, 2015). There is growing evidence of care-related economic, social and health consequences (Bauer and Sousa-Poza, 2015). Even relatively short-term caring episodes may truncate social networks (Keating and Eales, 2017), constrain labour force participation (Eldh and Carlsson, 2011) and increase the risk of poor health (Pinquart and Sörensen, 2007).

This body of work has helped us move beyond monolithic but conflicting perspectives that family care is natural and should be assumed (Al-Janabi et al, 2018), but that care needs will exceed the capacity of family carers (Cherlin and Seltzer, 2014). Moen and DePasquale (2017: 50) argue the need for a critical examination of these tensions, calling for ‘scholarship capturing: caregiving trajectories and tradeoffs over the life course; variability in caregiving careers and compatibility of caregiving careers with other pathways’.

The purpose of this article is to take up this challenge towards better understanding life courses of family care and their heterogeneity. Drawing on a life-course perspective, we theorise family care as a life-course domain, articulate its core constructs and hypothesise several care trajectories. We call for empirical examination of the diversity of care trajectories and of how they might lead to cumulative advantages/disadvantages across the lives of family carers.

Positioning care as a life-course domain

A fundamental assumption of life-course theory is that life pathways create the structure and rhythm of individual lives (Dannefer and Kelley-Moore, 2009; Elder and George, 2016). In his pioneering life-course scholarship, Elder (1985) began to specify these pathways, arguing that there is no singular life course, but several domains, each with transitions that punctuate it. Scholars have built upon this idea, theorising the shape and diversity of key trajectories in domains such as family and employment (Alwin, 2012; Halpern-Manners et al, 2015).

There is a long tradition of theorising pathways of family life courses. Within this domain, scholars have identified key family transitions related to marriage and fertility (O’Flaherty et al, 2016) and have tracked their increasing diversity (Perelli-Harris and Lyons-Amos, 2015; Holland, 2017). We have learned much about how these patterns create rhythms of family life (O’Flaherty et al, 2016) and of how marital/partnership and fertility histories are associated with outcomes in health (O’Flaherty

et al, 2016; Roberson et al, 2018) and income (Mikkonen et al, 2016; Sefton et al, 2011). Diversity in family trajectories is increasing, influenced by institutional changes such as the liberalisation of laws regulating marriage and divorce (Abela and Walker, 2014), and changes in social mores such as those related to cohabitation (Jowett, 2017; Stoilova et al, 2017). In turn, these changes raise questions about the boundaries around how we define families (Ó Súilleabháin, 2017; Nelson and Colaner, 2018) and how we understand family solidarity and ambivalence (Girardin et al, 2018).

Life-course pathways of work have also been the focus of considerable theorising. Scholars have articulated the bookends of these pathways through critical examination of how national policies and programmes structure both age of (first) entry into and (final) exit from the labour force (Larsson and Stattin, 2015; Clark et al, 2017). Diversity among work pathways between these bookends has been examined in micro-transitions from employment to unemployment (Haeggglund and Baechmann, 2017), full time to part time (Van Winkle and Fasang, 2017) and sequential precarious employment (Raymo et al, 2011). Interfaces with family trajectories are a major interest. The term ‘work–life balance’ is often invoked as a way of understanding how family demands influence the type and amount of labour force participation, and vice versa (Benson et al, 2017; Sirgy and Lee, 2018). There are ongoing efforts to theorise how work pathways differentially influence the risk of late-life exclusion (Scharf and Keating, 2012; Sefton et al, 2011).

These efforts to understand life-course pathways reflect what Alwin (2013) suggests are key tenets of life-course theorising. These include understanding transitions and trajectories across the life span and linking early life-course experiences with later life outcomes. Following these tenets, we propose key components of a life-course domain of family care. These include definitions of family care that set the boundaries around this domain and components of trajectories that create the theoretical language to understand care across time. Drawing on these conceptual building blocks, we hypothesise three family care trajectories that illustrate the potential structure and rhythms of diverse patterns of family care.

Conceptualising family care

In recent years, there has been considerable interest and debate around what constitutes family care. Often, definitions are crafted towards specific policy or empirical interests, such as documenting the current prevalence of family carers or the amount of time spent on a set of tasks (Robards et al, 2015; Aldridge, 2018). There has been less critical discussion of what constitutes the domain of family care. This is important if we are to better understand how life courses of family care evolve and how cumulative care experiences might shape lives and influence late-life outcomes. We begin by proposing a definition of family care with two elements: care as doing tasks and care as being in relationship.

Care as doing tasks

Most of the existing definitions of family care fall within the broad category of care work. Operational definitions have included different sets of tasks. In a recent systematic review, Cès and colleagues (2017) found that assistance with activities of daily living (eg personal care) and instrumental activities of daily living (eg meal

preparation and financial management) are most commonly used in existing research. More indirect tasks (eg organising formal care and travelling to the care receiver's dwelling), as well as intangible activities (eg supervising and monitoring the care receiver), are included to a lesser extent.

At a broader conceptual level, 'care as doing' can be seen as encompassing activities and responsibilities whose purpose is to assist family members because of a long-term health problem, disability or functional limitation (Moen and DePasquale, 2017). This purpose distinguishes care from everyday family activities such as looking after young children or preparing meals (Collins, 2015).

'Care as doing' is further delineated by its distinction from formal care. There is general agreement that family carers are people with an ongoing, personal connection to the cared-for person based on close kin connections or long-standing friendships (Hahmann, 2017; Øydgard, 2017). Researchers have positioned family care work as stemming from a bonded relationship that is variously motivated by love, reciprocity or obligation (Yeandle et al, 2017). In contrast, formal care is based on a contractual relationship to provide supportive services (Dahlberg et al, 2018).

Concerns about the sustainability of the family care sector stem primarily from evidence about time spent in care and the opportunity costs incurred in current care provision (O'Shea and Monaghan, 2017). Yet, such snapshots of life pathways are rather blunt instruments for understanding how lives and care unfold (Milne and Larkin, 2015). As life-course theorists, we assume, for example, that individuals who have extensive care experience might differ from first-time carers, as much as those entering first marriages might diverge from those beginning their third, or those with intermittent labour force engagement might have differential ability to sustain their current employment compared to those with continuous labour force engagement. We know little about how care work across the life course might ebb and flow, or about how these patterns might result in varying capacity or predilection for care. The risk of cumulative disadvantage across a life course of care remains untested.

Care as being in relationship

In our view, while 'doing' is important, it does not comprise the entirety of the conceptual territory of family care. The bonded relationship that lies at the core of family care seems a classic example of the assumption of life courses as relational (Bengtson et al, 2012; Grenier, 2012). Reflecting the life-course concept of linked lives, Settersten (2017: 5) says: 'the many decades of adult life are heavily shaped by relationships in which our own welfare is inextricably dependent on the choices, behaviors, and resources of others, and in which the welfare of others is inextricably dependent on ours'. Thus, we believe that the ways in which linked lives evolve over the course of family care must be taken into account.

Family care researchers have argued the importance of accounting for the personal relationships and interdependent nature of care (Collins, 2015). Along with life-course theorists, their arguments coalesce around the need for increased understanding of the 'complex relational nature of care' (Dannefer et al, 2008: 105) and the ways in which carers 'work in, through or away from relationships with others' (Tronto, 2017: 32). It seems timely, then, to add 'care as being in relationship' as the second component of family care. Care as being in relationship represents the processes of experiencing and negotiating close relationships over time in the context of doing care.

Conceptualisations of relational aspects of care (ie ‘being in relationship’) have received much less attention than has ‘care as doing’. Operational definitions are implicit and somewhat piecemeal. These include changes in the perceived quality or frequency of interactions (Ducharme et al, 2007), and changes in the size of support or social networks (Wenger and Keating, 2008). There are clues as to how relationships evolve over the course of care which suggest that the dyad of carer and cared-for person, as well as other close family relationships, may undergo profound changes. If we continue to embrace terms such as ‘family care’, we surely need to consider how those intimate, bonded relationships might change in the context of needs for support by a close family member.

A recent review of the social consequences of care provides a foundation for mapping changes in relationship convoys across care pathways. Keating and Eales (2017) found evidence of changes in relationships: between carers and care receivers; between carers and other family members, such as spouses, children and siblings; and between carers and broader social network members, including friends and neighbours. Although most of the 66 articles reviewed were based on current care, they nonetheless foreshadow life-course questions about how care trajectories are shaped and negotiated within evolving ‘convoys’, which may include strained marriages, acrimonious sibling relationships or diminished friend networks. Caregiving may also enhance some relationships, giving back to and deepening bonds with care receivers, increasing cohesion among family members who share the experience, and strengthening or creating new socially supportive ties (Chen and Greenberg, 2004; Anderson et al, 2017; Yu et al, 2018).

Structural components of trajectories of family care

Alwin (2012: 217) says that ‘each life course transition is embedded in a trajectory that gives it specific form and meaning’. The components of care trajectories have not been articulated – a task that we believe is fundamental to understanding care as a life-course domain. We propose two structural building blocks of family care trajectories: ‘care episodes’ and their sequencing across time; and ‘bookends’ that delineate the beginning and end of this life-course domain. Together, these structural building blocks establish the form of family care trajectories. The evolution of relationships is the main process that gives meaning to trajectories. Diversities in patterns of being in relationship are proposed in the section on profiles of family care over time.

Care episode

An episode is a period of care to an individual care receiver (Moen et al, 1994). Research on care episodes has resulted in a rich body of knowledge on tasks and services to people with diverse illnesses and disabilities (Stenberg et al, 2009; Grossman and Webb, 2016; Larkin et al, 2019), and provided by carers with varying kinship relationships to the cared-for person (Broese van Groenou et al, 2013; Lapierre and Keating, 2013; Kallander et al, 2018). Research referencing the beginning and end of care (Lee and Gramotnev, 2007; Larkin and Milne, 2017) most often refers to these single episodes.

Bookends of care

First transition into and final exit from care comprise the bookends of care trajectories that mark their length and place in the carer's life course. Hamilton and Cass (2017) argue that we have paid insufficient attention to the ways in which life-course stage structures care and its interfaces with family and with work. For example, early entry into care may result in delayed development of intimate relationships and truncated education (Hamilton and Adamson, 2013; Hamilton and Cass, 2017). Midlife entry may result in labour force exit (Principi et al, 2012; King and Pickard, 2013) and lost social connections (Chappell and Funk, 2011). It seems likely that those whose trajectories begin and end relatively early in life would have more opportunity across the life course to rebuild relationships, engage in the paid labour force and maintain their health than those whose care trajectories extend into late life. Understanding the length and timing of family care trajectories may help us better understand why, for example, late-life carers experience greater social disadvantage, poorer mental health and lower income than carers earlier in the life course (Colombo et al, 2011).

Care trajectory

There are hints in the empirical literature of patterns of care episodes across the longer sweep of the life course. Carers may provide more than one episode of care across the carers' life course (Ghosh et al, 2012; Larkin et al, 2019), at times, caring for multiple people concurrently (Perkins and Haley, 2010; Lunsky et al, 2017). Increasing prevalence of people with lifelong or acquired disabilities augurs a trajectory defined by a single care episode stretching over a long period of time (Brennan et al, 2018). Together, these episodes comprise trajectories, the patterns of moving into and out of care work across time. How care episodes are juxtaposed across time, and how the juxtaposition reflects and influences the evolution of close relationships, remain unexamined.

Family care trajectories: profiles of family care over time

In this section, we propose three hypothetical care trajectories, informed by the conceptual building blocks just presented and the somewhat slim trail of empirical evidence on life-course patterns of family care.

Generational Care Trajectory

We define the Generational Care Trajectory (GCT) as episodes of care within high-obligation close-kin relationships with generational sequencing to cared-for persons. The GCT is typified by cumulative processes of change in relationships with siblings and in marriage.

We have been thinking about elements of this trajectory for a very long time. Brody (1985: 19) identified parent care as 'a normative experience – expectable, though usually unexpected'. Spousal care is assumed to be available when needed, stemming from the marital contract (Birditt and Antonucci, 2012). The recognition of the importance of these bonded family relationships is evident in the large bodies

of research on parent care and spousal care. Thus, in some ways, we could argue that the GCT is the classic family care trajectory.

While these elements of family care are familiar, we have yet to articulate the ways in which they might unfold across a life course. We know that generational care to parents and spouses is both obligatory and conditional. Parental care carries expectations of siblings who are ‘genealogically equivalent’ to share in care tasks and responsibilities (Lashewicz and Keating, 2009: 129), but its availability is contingent on such factors as the historic relationships between siblings and their parents, and demographic, physical and social contexts (Burridge et al, 2007; Evandrou et al, 2018). We do not yet understand the circumstances under which a first episode of parental care might leave an imprint of ambivalence and conflict or of cohesion and solidarity, or how these might influence the unfolding of care to a second parent (or parent-in-law).

Episodes of care to parents, in turn, provide a backdrop to later care to their own spouses. The assumption that spousal care is obligatory by virtue of its embeddedness in the marital contract has been tempered by research illustrating that it is also contingent (Spitze and Ward, 2000). Strains in the marriages of adult child carers resulting from parental care (Bookwala, 2009) may lead to reduced intimacy and later uncertainty that one’s spouse will be available if care is needed (Reczek and Umberson, 2016). Decisions about remarriage or living-apart-together (LAT) after spousal care may be better understood from the perspective of the cumulative impact of these generational care relationships (Davidson, 2001).

Career Care Trajectory

We define the Career Care Trajectory (CCT) as a single episode of care of long duration within a high-obligation close-kin relationship. The CCT is typified by cumulative processes of change within these relationships, primarily between parent carers, their spouses and their children.

An exemplar of this care trajectory is parent care to a child with a lifelong or acquired disability. Career care may span much of the life course (Perkins and Haley, 2010). It creates a focus in the life of the carer through the exigencies of vigilance and the provision of highly complex care tasks (Smith et al, 2010; Tong et al, 2010), and through the ways in which it changes close relationships (Svanberg et al, 2011). Positioning career care explicitly within the life-course domain of family care distinguishes it from the everyday activities that people do in families and from discourses of the selfless (but natural) devotion of a parent to the care of a vulnerable child, which have been challenged as condoning their marginalisation (Knight, 2012) and rendering invisible the work of care.

Research on marriage and on relationships with children in this continuous and lengthy care career is often about impact. There are long-standing discourses about ‘doomed marriages’ and evidence that risk of divorce may increase later in the life course (Hartley et al, 2011). Findings from cross-sectional studies show marked variability in marital quality and stability (Saini et al, 2015; Tøssebro and Wendelborg, 2017), suggesting that there is much to learn about how couples negotiate their relationship with each other over a long period of care.

There are indications that relationships between parents and their other children also evolve across this trajectory. Young children may experience increased responsibilities

and insufficient parental attention (Tozer et al, 2013; Werner et al, 2009), while older siblings may express ambivalence about obligations to care (Lashewicz et al, 2012). Having grown up in the context of care relationships, siblings are logical care successors (Pryce et al, 2017; Tomeny, 2017). There is potential here for better understanding the final bookend of CCTs through examining how these relationship processes might lead to the transfer of care responsibility from parent to a sibling (Leith et al, 2018).

Serial Care Trajectory

Lastly, we define the Serial Care Trajectory (SCT) as multiple episodes of care to diverse care receivers with no normative or predictable sequencing. The SCT is typified by fluidity in carers' social networks across these diverse care episodes.

Strong patterns of obligation and close kin connections of generational kin care are relatively familiar conceptual territory. In contrast, theorising patterns of care to those with whom relationships might be more discretionary and based on loose ties (Keating and Dosman, 2009) is less familiar terrain (Ihara et al, 2012; Power and Hall, 2018). Nonetheless, there is sufficient evidence of movement into and out of care episodes to more than one individual across a carer's life span that terms such as 'serial' and 'sequential' have been adopted to reflect these patterns (Larkin, 2009; Rocha and Pacheco, 2013). How and why those with such discretionary ties engage in these care relationships across time are of particular interest given contemporary 'localism agendas' that emphasise volunteerism and community contributions (Power and Hall, 2018: 308). Thus, in some ways, we could argue that the SCT is akin to the good neighbour and community member who watches out for others and helps whoever is in need.

Unlike patterns of generational care, the rhythms of this trajectory emerge from less intense patterns of doing care and increased choices around care relationships. Carers to extended kin and to non-kin undertake more limited tasks (Broese van Groenou et al, 2013; LaPierre and Keating, 2013) and generally evaluate their care relationships more positively (Broese van Groenou et al, 2013; Lum et al, 2014). In combination, these create what Železná (2018: 990) calls a 'general tendency to care' motivated by anticipation of personal gains from future care (Rohr and Lang, 2016). The predilection to care may be most evident among those who have strong community ties (Hahmann, 2017) and normative beliefs about 'doing the good thing' through helping community members and kin (Broese van Groenou et al, 2013: 309). The SCT may be unique in its pattern of new relationships created across care episodes. These relationships may extend the set of lives to which carers are connected, embedding them more firmly within their communities. Alternatively, care relationships may be more fluid, active only during a particular care episode and then becoming dormant.

Discussion

Addressing Moen and DePasquales's (2017) challenge to develop scholarship about family care trajectories and their variability is somewhat daunting. We hope that we have made a good beginning. As theorists are wont to do, we have drawn on the work of those who have laid the groundwork in the evolution of life courses over time. We have brought in evidence from the body of literature on family care

to place our work within the purview of those who seek to extend the frontiers of knowledge about carers and care. At this early stage of theorising, we raise three questions to stimulate further theoretical conversations and empirical investigations towards understanding how lives unfold in the context of care.

First, have we created a compelling argument that family care is an independent life-course domain distinct from family and from work? We have argued that family care is normative but that its pathways are under-theorised. In turn, we have illustrated how theorising other life courses of family and of work, and testing these empirically, have led to understanding their increasing diversity and cumulative impact on late-life outcomes. We have noted the need to challenge, yet again, remarkably persistent discourses of family care that place it within the family domain and outside the work domain, rendering it natural, private and free.

We subscribe to the notion that theoretical innovation should be judged not only by its originality, but also by its practicality (Corley and Gioia, 2011). One metric for assessing the practicality of family care as a life-course trajectory stems from the question of what we can learn about its influence at the interfaces with the family and work life-course domains. An excellent starting point is research undertaken by Carmichael and Ercolini (2016), who created 20-year trajectories using combinations of paid employment, childcare and family care. Their ‘caring intensive’ trajectory reflected the high incidence of family care, the presence of young children and no employment. These carers had the lowest income and poorest health and well-being.

The CCT is also ‘caring-intensive’. In this trajectory, family care is distinguished from everyday family responsibilities by such features as its extension well beyond the period of young children at home and from its potential to influence the family transitions of the siblings of children with disabilities. For siblings, obligations to care may inhibit the development of intimate relationships or decisions to have children. The CCT might be useful in further articulating the interface between family care and employment. We know that policies to reduce tensions at this interface should look rather different from parental leaves, which are time-limited and meant to support a family transition after the birth of a child. Keeping this distinction on policy agendas may require a tripartite approach: balancing family care, employment and family responsibilities.

Second, have we captured the important structural building blocks of care trajectories? We have been parsimonious in our approach, defining just two: bookends marking the entrance into and exit from a trajectory; and episodes of doing care. With this beginning, we believe that we have begun to consider the ways in which a life course might ‘have more discernible borders drawn around it’ (Silverstein, 2012: 205).

Bookends create the ‘black box’ of trajectories. Determining the adequacy of conceptualised structural elements within them requires looking inside. Our hypothesised trajectories serve as a starting point. For example, within the GCT, we might see a long period of caring in turn for each parent and parent-in-law with long gaps between episodes. Thus, the period of parent care might be long, but with breaks between care episodes. A contrasting pattern might be a short-duration period of parent care with episodes that are intense, overlapping and without breaks between them. Determining differences in how each of these patterns creates an overall trajectory structure may be primarily an empirical undertaking that requires operational definitions of the sequencing of episodes, their overlap, intensity and duration.

Third, does highlighting the evolution of care relationships across time add to our understanding of the ways in which lives are linked? In theorising ‘care as being in relationship’, we have positioned relationships as an integral part of the process of care. In doing so, we have responded to empirical findings about the importance of care relationships. Thinking of these relationships as convoys of care also provides us with the opportunity to address Antonucci, Ajrouch and Birditt’s (2013: 86) call for new directions in the ‘assessment of how relationships change over time’.

SCTs and CCTs provide some insight into how lives linked through care relationships might evolve in quite different ways. For serial carers, we assume potential for adding care relationships with each new episode of care to a disparate set of neighbours, friends or extended family members. Under what circumstances might such relationships continue, forming convoys that could be activated within new care contexts? Are serial carers’ lives thus sustained and enriched? In contrast, do career carers begin with small convoys of care relationships with partners and with children that may erode over a long process of care? There are opportunities here to learn about the ebb and flow of the structure and supportiveness of convoys of care.

There is much work ahead. An important theoretical lacuna lies in our tradition of life-course theorising from the perspective of the Global North. Yet, socio-political contexts such as national-level discourses about family care obligations and mass migrations that disconnect families are surely important drivers of the unfolding of care pathways. It is time to lift our heads and to theorise how contexts matter. We must no longer ignore other global voices. A further theoretical challenge lies in mapping intersectionalities across the family care life course. Perhaps as a starting point, we might examine the truism that family care is gendered through consideration of the complex and likely diverse relationships of gender with race, class and nationality (Holvino, 2010).

There are considerable empirical challenges ahead. Analyses to establish the main patterns of trajectories are needed to build understanding of life courses of care work and relationships. Ideally, we would draw on longitudinal data sets that would allow for the life-course mapping of the building blocks of care work. Qualitative methodologies might best be employed to capture the ebb and flow of ‘care as being in relationship’. In turn, this foundational work is needed as a basis for examining the impact of diverse life courses of care on health, wealth and social connections across the lives of family carers.

Finally, we believe that this work can foster a more nuanced debate about the sustainability of the family care sector. There are opportunities to identify, within different trajectories, specific tipping points that may render carers especially vulnerable. Meticulous attention to policies that are responsive to these tipping points will go a long way towards truncating the cumulative disadvantage that is central to the lives of too many carers.

Funding

This work was supported by: the Economic & Social Research Council (award ES/P009255/1, Sustainable Care: connecting people and systems, 2017–21, Principal Investigator Sue Yeandle, University of Sheffield); the Kule Institute of Advanced Study (UOFAB KIASRCG Keating, Health, wealth and happiness: dynamics of families and a good old age?, 2016–19); AGE-WELL NCE, Canada’s Technology and Aging

Network (NCEAGEWELL AW CRP 2015WP2.4, Assistive technology that cares for the caregiver, 2015–2020)

Conflict of interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

Acknowledgements

Our thanks to Professor Rick Settersten, who encouraged and challenged us to expand our theoretical thinking in the process of writing this manuscript.

References

- Abela, A. and Walker, J. (2014) Global changes in marriage, parenting and family life: an overview, in A. Abela and J. Walker (eds) *Contemporary issues in family studies: Global perspectives on partnerships, parenting and support in a changing world*, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, pp 5–15.
- Aldridge, J. (2018) Where are we now? Twenty-five years of research, policy and practice on young carers, *Critical Social Policy*, 38(1): 155–65.
- Al-Janabi, H., Carmichael, F. and Oyeboode, J. (2018) Informal care: choice or constraint?, *Scandinavian Journal of Caring Studies*, 32: 157–67.
- Alwin, D.F. (2012) Integrating varieties of life course concepts, *The Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 67B, 2, 206–20, <http://doi.org/10.1093/geronb/gbr146>
- Alwin, D.F. (2013) Life Course, life cycle, life history, life span and life stage, in A. Runehov and L. Oviedo (eds) *Encyclopedia of sciences and religions*, Dordrecht: Springer, p 1167.
- Anderson, S., Keating, N. and Wilson, D. (2017) Reconciling marriage and care after stroke, *Canadian Journal on Aging/La Revue canadienne du vieillissement*, 36(1): 386–401.
- Antonucci, T., Ajrouch, K. and Birditt, K. (2013) The convoy model: explaining social relations from a multidisciplinary perspective, *The Gerontologist*, 54(1): 82–92.
- Bauer, J.M. and Sousa-Poza, A. (2015) Impacts of informal caregiving on caregiver employment, health, and family, *Journal of Population Ageing*, 8(3): 113–45.
- Bengtson, V., Elder, G. and Putney, N. (2012) The life course perspective on ageing: linked lives, timing and history, in J. Katz, S. Peace and S. Spurr (eds) *Adult lives: A life course perspective*, Bristol: Policy Press.
- Benson, R., Glaser, K., Corna, L.M., Platts, L.G., Di Gessa, G., Worts, D., Price, D., McDonough, P. and Sacker, A. (2017) Do work and family care histories predict health in older women?, *European Journal of Public Health*, 27(6): 1010–15.
- Birditt, K.S. and Antonucci, T.C. (2012) Till death do us part: contexts and implications of marriage, divorce, and remarriage across adulthood, *Research in Human Development*, 9(2): 103–5.
- Bookwala, J. (2009) The impact of parent care on marital quality and well-being in adult daughters and sons, *Journal of Gerontology: Psychological Sciences*, 64B(3): 339–47.
- Brennan, D., Murphy, R., McCallion, P. and McCarron, M. (2018) ‘What’s going to happen when we’re gone?’ Family caregiving capacity for older people with an intellectual disability in Ireland, *Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities*, 31(2): 226–35.

- Brody, E. (1985) Parent care as a normative family stress, *The Gerontologist*, 25(1): 19–29, <https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/25.1.19>
- Broese van Groenou, M., De Boer, A. and Iedema, J. (2013) Positive and negative evaluation of caregiving among three different types of informal care relationships, *European Journal on Ageing*, 10: 301–11, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10433-013-0276-6>
- Burridge, L., Winch, S. and Clavarino, A. (2007) Reluctance to care: a systematic review and development of a conceptual framework, *Cancer Nursing*, 30(2): E9–E19.
- Carers UK (2015) Facts about carers, www.carersuk.org/news-and-campaigns/press-releases/facts-and-figures
- Carmichael, F. and Ercolani, M. (2016) Unpaid caregiving and paid work over life-courses: different pathways, diverging outcomes, *Social Science & Medicine*, 156: 1–11, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2016.03.020>
- Cès, S., De Almeida Mello, J., Macq, J., Declercq, A. and Schmitz, O. (2017) A systematic review of questionnaires used to measure the time spent on family care for frail older people, *International Journal of Care and Caring*, 1(2): 227–45.
- Chappell, N. and Funk, L. (2011) Social support, caregiving, and aging, *Canadian Journal on Aging*, 30(3): 355–70, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0714980811000316>
- Chen, F.P. and Greenberg, J.S. (2004) A positive aspect of caregiving: the influence of social support on caregiving gains for family members of relatives with schizophrenia, *Community Mental Health Journal*, 40, 5, 423–35
- Cherlin, A.J., Seltzer, J.A., 2014, Family complexity, the family safety net, and public policy, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 654(1): 231–9.
- Clark, C., Smuk, M., Lain, D., Stansfeld, S.A., Carr, E., Head, J. and Vickerstaff, S. (2017) Impact of childhood and adulthood psychological health on labour force participation and exit in later life, *Psychological Medicine*, 47(9): 1597–608.
- Collins, S. (2015) *The core of care ethics*, Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Colombo, F., Liena Nozal, A., Mercier, J. and Tjadens, F. (2011) *Help wanted? Providing and paying for long-term care*, OECD Health Policy Studies, Paris: OECD Publishing, <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264097759-en>
- Corley, K.G. and Gioia, D.A. (2011) Building theory about theory building: what constitutes a theoretical contribution?, *Academy of Management Review*, 36(1): 12–32, <https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2009.0486>
- Dahlberg, L., Berndt, H., Lennartsson, C. and Schoen, P. (2018) Receipt of formal and informal help with specific care tasks among older people living in their own home: national trends over two decades, *Social Policy & Administration*, 52(1): 91–110.
- Dannefer, D. and Kelley-Moore, J.A. (2009) Theorizing the life course: new twists in the paths, in V. Bengtson, M. Silverstein, N. Putney and D. Gans (eds) *Handbook of theories of aging* (2nd edn), New York, NY: Springer, pp 389–411.
- Dannefer, D., Stein, P., Siders, R. and Patterson, R.S. (2008) Is that all there is? The concept of care and the dialectic of critique, *Journal of Aging Studies*, 22: 101–8.
- Davidson, K. (2001) Late life widowhood, selfishness and new partnership choices: a gendered perspective, *Ageing & Society*, 21(3): 297–317, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X01008169>
- Ducharme, F., Lévesque, L., Lachance, L., Gangbè, M., Zarit, S.H., Vézina, J. and Caron, C.D. (2007) Older husbands as caregivers: factors associated with health and the intention to end home caregiving, *Research on Aging*, 29(1): 3–31.

- Eifert, E., Adams, R., Morrison, S. and Strack, R. (2016) Emerging trends in family caregiving using the life course perspective: preparing health educators for an aging society, *American Journal of Health Education*, 47(3): 176–97.
- Elder, G.H. (1985) Perspectives on the life course, in G.H. Elder Jr (ed) *Life course dynamics: Trajectories and transitions, 1968–1980*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp 23–49.
- Elder, G.H. and George, L.K. (2016) Age, cohorts, and the life course, in M. Shanahan, J. Mortimer and M. Kirkpatrick Johnson (eds) *Handbook of the life course*, Switzerland: Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research, Springer, Cham, pp 59–85, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-20880-0_3
- Eldh, A. and Carlsson, E. (2011) Seeking a balance between employment and the care of an ageing parent, *Scandinavian Journal of Caring Sciences*, 25(2): 285–93, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6712.2010.00824.x>
- EuroCarers Association (2016) What do informal carers need? Towards a fair and rights-based deal, www.eurocarers.org/userfiles/files/factsheets/Eurocarers%20-%20Needs_final.pdf
- Evandrou, M., Falkingham, J., Gomez-Leon, M. and Vlachantoni, A. (2018) Intergenerational flows of support between parents and adult children in Britain, *Ageing & Society*, 38: 321–51
- Fingerman, K.L., Pillemer, K.A., Silverstein, M. and Sutor, J.J. (2012) The baby boomers' intergenerational relationships, *Gerontologist*, 52(2): 199–209.
- Ghosh, S., Greenberg, J.S. and Seltzer, M.M. (2012) Adaptation to a spouse's disability by parents of adult children with mental illness or developmental disability, *Psychiatric Services*, 63(11): 1118–24.
- Girardin, M., Widmer, E.D., Connidis, I.A., Castrén, A.M., Gouveia, R. and Masotti, B. (2018) Ambivalence in later-life family networks: beyond intergenerational dyads, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 80(3): 768–84.
- Grenier, A. (2012) *Transitions and the life course: Challenging the constructions of 'growing old'*, Bristol: Policy Press.
- Grossman, B. and Webb, C. (2016) Family support in late life: a review of the literature on aging, disability, and family caregiving, *Journal of Family Social Work*, 19(4): 348–95, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10522158.2016.1233924>
- Haeggglund, A.E. and Baechmann, A.C. (2017) Fast lane or down the drain? Does the occupation held prior to unemployment shape the transition back to work?, *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 49: 32–46.
- Hahmann, J. (2017) Friendship repertoires and care arrangement: a praxeological approach, *International Journal of Aging & Human Development*, 84(2): 180–206.
- Halpern-Manners, A., Warren, J.R., Raymo, J.M. and Nicholson, D.A. (2015) The impact of work and family life histories on economic well-being at older ages, *Social Forces*, 93(4): 1369–96, <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sov005>
- Hamilton, M.G. and Adamson, E. (2013) Bounded agency in young carers' lifecourse-stage domains and transitions, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 16(1): 101–17.
- Hamilton, M. and Cass, B. (2017) Capturing the centrality of age and life-course stage in the provision of unpaid care, *Journal of Sociology*, 53(1): 79–93.
- Hartley, S., Seltzer, M., Barker, E. and Greenberg, J. (2011) Marital quality and families of children with developmental disabilities, *International Research on Developmental Disabilities*, 41: 1–29.

- Holland, J.A. (2017) The timing of marriage vis-à-vis coresidence and childbearing in Europe and the United States, *Demographic Research*, 36(1): 609–26.
- Holvino, E. (2010) Intersections: the simultaneity of race, gender and class in organization studies, *Gender, Work & Organization*, 17: 248–77.
- Ihara, E., Horio, B. and Tompkins, C. (2012) Grandchildren caring for grandparents: modeling the complexity of family caregiving, *Journal of Social Service Research*, 38(5): 619–36.
- Jowett, A. (2017) ‘One can hardly call them homophobic’: denials of antigay prejudice within the same-sex marriage debate, *Discourse and Society*, 28(3): 281–95.
- Kallander, E., Weimand, B., Becker, S., Van Roy, B., Hanssen-Bauer, K., Stavnes, K., Faugli, A., Kufås, E. and Ruud, T. (2018) Children with ill parents: extent and nature of caring activities, *Scandinavian Journal of Caring Studies*, 32: 793–804.
- Keating, N. and De Jong Gierveld, J. (2015) Editorial: families and aging: from private troubles to a global agenda, *Canadian Journal on Aging*, 34(3) (Special Issue on Families and Aging in Global Context): 261–3.
- Keating, N. and Dosman, D. (2009) Social capital and the care networks of frail seniors, *Canadian Review of Sociology*, 46(4): 301–18.
- Keating, N. and Eales, J. (2017) Social consequences of family care: a scoping review, *International Journal of Care and Caring*, 1(2): 149–52.
- King, D. and Pickard, L. (2013) When is a carer’s employment at risk? Longitudinal analysis of unpaid care and employment in midlife in England, *Health and Social Care in the Community*, 21(3): 303–14.
- Knight, K. (2012) The changing face of the ‘good mother’: trends in research into families with a child with intellectual disability, and some concerns, *Disability & Society*, 28(5): 660–73, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2012.732540>
- Lapierre, T. and Keating, N. (2013) Characteristics and contributions of non-kin carers of older people: a closer look at friends and neighbours, *Ageing & Society*, 33(8): 1442–68, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X12000736>
- Larkin, M. (2009) Life after caring: the post-caring experiences of former carers, *British Journal of Social Work*, 39: 1026–42.
- Larkin, M. and Milne, A. (2017) What do we know about older former carers? Key issues and themes, *Health & Social Care in the Community*, 25(4): 1396–403.
- Larkin, M., Henwood, M. and Milne, A. (2019) Care-related research and knowledge: findings from a scoping review, *Health and Social Care in the Community*, 27: 55–67.
- Larsson, D. and Stattin, M. (2015) The labour market in ageing Sweden: lifecourse influences on workforce participation, in K. Komp and S. Johansson (eds) *Population ageing from a lifecourse perspective: Critical and international approaches*, Bristol: Policy Press, pp 203–20.
- Lashewicz, B. and Keating, N. (2009) Tensions among siblings in parent care, *European Journal on Aging*, 6(2): 127–35.
- Lashewicz, B., Lo, A., Mooney, L. and Khan, H. (2012) Drawing the line: a case study of ambivalence in sibling support for adults with complex needs, *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, 33(11): 727–34.
- Lee, C. and Gramotnev, H. (2007) Transitions into and out of caregiving: health and social characteristics of mid-age Australian women, *Psychology & Health*, 22(2): 193–209.

- Leith, J., Jewell, T. and Stein, C. (2018) Caregiving attitudes, personal loss, and stress-related growth among siblings of adults with mental illness, *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 27: 1193–206.
- Lum, H., Lo, D., Hooker, S. and Bekelman, D. (2014) Caregiving in heart failure: relationship quality is associated with caregiver benefit finding and caregiver burden, *Heart & Lung*, 43: 306–10.
- Lunsky, Y., Robinson, S., Blinkhorn, A. and Ouellette-Kuntz, H. (2017) Parents of adults with intellectual and developmental disabilities (IDD) and compound caregiving responsibilities, *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 26(5): 1374–9, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-017-0656-1>
- Mikkonen, H.M., Salonen, M.K., Häkkinen, A., Olkkola, M., Pesonen, A.K., Räikkönen, K., Osmond, C., Eriksson, J. and Kajantie, E. (2016) The lifelong socioeconomic disadvantage of single-mother background – the Helsinki Birth Cohort study 1934–1944, *BMC Public Health*, 16: 817.
- Milne, A. and Larkin, M. (2015) Knowledge generation about care-giving in the UK: a critical review of research paradigms, *Health & Social Care in the Community*, 23(1): 4–13.
- Moen, P. and DePasquale, N. (2017) Family care work: a policy-relevant research agenda, *International Journal of Care and Caring*, 1(1): 45–62.
- Moen, P., Robison, J. and Fields, V. (1994) Women's work and caregiving roles: a life course approach, *Journal of Gerontology*, 49(4): S176–86.
- Nelson, L.R. and Colaner, C.W. (2018) Becoming a transracial family: communicatively negotiating divergent identities in families formed through transracial adoption, *Journal of Family Communication*, 18(1): 51–67.
- O'Flaherty, M., Baxter, J., Haynes, M. and Turrell, G. (2016) The family life course and health: partnership, fertility histories, and later-life physical health trajectories in Australia, *Demography*, 53(3): 777–804, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-016-0478-6>
- O'Shea, E. and Monaghan, C. (2017) An economic analysis of a community-based model for dementia care in Ireland: a balance of care approach, *International Psychogeriatrics*, 29(7): 1175–84.
- Ó Súilleabháin, F. (2017) Expanding 'Irish family' repertoires: exploring gay men's experiences as parents in the Republic of Ireland, *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, 13(5): 498–515.
- Øydgaard, G.W. (2017) The influence of institutional discourses on the work of informal carers: an institutional ethnography from the perspective of informal carers, *BMC Health Services Research*, 17(1): 631–643.
- Perelli-Harris, B. and Lyons-Amos, M. (2015) Changes in partnership patterns across the life course: an examination of 14 countries in Europe and the United States, *Demographic Research*, 33(6): 145–78.
- Perkins, E.A. and Haley, W.E. (2010) Compound caregiving: when lifelong caregivers undertake additional caregiving roles, *Rehabilitation Psychology*, 55(4): 409–17, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0021521>
- Pinquart, M. and Sörensen, S. (2007) Correlates of physical health of informal caregivers: a meta-analysis, *The Journals of Gerontology: Series B*, 62(2): P126–37.
- Power, A. and Hall, E. (2018) Placing care in times of austerity, *Social & Cultural Geography*, 19(3): 303–13.

- Principi, A., Lamura, G., Sirolla, C., Mestheneos, L., Bien, B., Brown, J., Krevers, B., Mechiorre, M.G. and Dohner, H. (2012) Work restrictions experienced by midlife family care-givers of older people: evidence from six European countries, *Ageing & Society*, 34(2): 209–31, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X12000967>
- Pryce, L., Tweed, A., Hilton, A. and Priest, H. (2017) Tolerating uncertainty: perceptions of the future for ageing parent carers and their adult children with intellectual disabilities, *Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities*, 30: 84–96
- Raymo, J.M., Warren, J.R., Sweeney, M.M., Hauser, R.M. and Ho, J.-H. (2011) Precarious employment, bad jobs, labor unions, and early retirement, *Journals of Gerontology Series B – Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 66(2): 249–59.
- Reczek, C. and Umberson, D. (2016) Greedy spouse, needy parent: the marital dynamics of gay, lesbian, and heterosexual intergenerational caregivers, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 78: 957–74.
- Robards, J., Vlachantoni, A., Evandrou, M. and Falkingham, J. (2015) Informal caring in England and Wales – stability and transition between 2001 and 2011, *Advances in Life Course Research*, 24: 21–33.
- Roberson, P.N.E., Norona, J.C., Lenger, K.A. and Olmstead, S.B. (2018) How do relationship stability and quality affect wellbeing? Romantic relationship trajectories, depressive symptoms, and life satisfaction across 30 years, *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 27(7): 2171–84.
- Rocha, B.M.P. and Pacheco, J.E.P. (2013) Elderly persons in a situation of dependence: informal caregiver stress and coping, *Acta Paulista de Enfermagem*, 26, 1, 50–6, <https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0103-21002013000100009>
- Rohr, M.K. and Lang, F.R. (2016) The role of anticipated gains and losses on preferences about future caregiving, *Journals of Gerontology Series B – Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 71(3): 405–14.
- Sabzwari, S., Badini, M.A., Fatmi, Z., Jamali, T. and Shah, S. (2016) Burden and associated factors for caregivers of the elderly in a developing country, *EMHJ – Eastern Mediterranean Health Journal*, 22(6): 394–403, www.who.int/iris/handle/10665/259976
- Saini, M., Stoddart, K., Gibson, M., Morris, R., Barrett, D., Muskat, B., Nicholas, D., Rampton, G. and Zwaigenbaum, L. (2015) Couple relationships among parents of children and adolescents with autism spectrum disorder: findings from a scoping review of the literature, *Research in Autism Spectrum Disorders*, 17: 142–57.
- Scharf, T. and Keating, N. (2012) Social exclusion in later life: a global challenge, in T Scharf and N Keating (eds) *From exclusion to inclusion in old age: A global challenge*, Bristol: Policy Press, pp 1–16.
- Sefton, T., Evandrou, M. and Falkingham, J. (2011) Family ties: women’s work and family histories and their association with incomes in later life in the UK, *Journal of Social Policy*, 40(1): 41–69.
- Settersten, R. (2017) Some things I have learned about aging by studying the life course, *Innovation in Aging*, 1(2): 1–7.
- Silverstein, M. (2012) (Re)Considering the life course as a key concept in social gerontology, *The Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 67: 2, 205.
- Sirgy, M.J. and Lee, D.J. (2018) Work–life balance: an integrative review, *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 13(1): 229–54.

- Smith, L., Hong, J., Seltzer, M., Greenberg, J., Almeida, D. and Bishop, S. (2010) Daily experiences among mothers of adolescents and adults with autism spectrum disorder, *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders*, 40: 167–78.
- Spitze, G. and Ward, R. (2000) Gender, marriage, and expectations for personal care, *Research on Aging*, 22(5): 451–69, <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0164027500225001>
- Stenberg, U., Ruland, C. and Miaskowski, C. (2009) Review of the literature on the effects of caring for a patient with cancer, *Psycho-Oncology*, 19: 1013–25.
- Stoilova, M., Roseneil, S., Carter, J., Duncan, S. and Phillips, M. (2017) Constructions, reconstructions and deconstructions of ‘family’ amongst people who live apart together (LATs), *British Journal of Sociology*, 68(1): 78–96.
- Svanberg, E., Spector, A. and Stott, J. (2011) The impact of young onset dementia on the family: a literature review, *International Psychogeriatrics*, 23(3): 356–71.
- Tomeny, T., Barry, T. and Fair, E. (2017) Parentification of adult siblings of individuals with autism spectrum disorder: distress, sibling relationship attitudes, and the role of social support, *Journal of Intellectual & Developmental Disability*, 42(4): 320–31, <https://doi.org/10.3109/13668250.2016.1248376>
- Tong, A., Lowe, A., Sainsbury, P. and Craig, J. (2010) Parental perspectives on caring for a child with chronic kidney disease: an in-depth interview study, *Child: Care, Health and Development*, 36(4): 549–57.
- Tøssebro, J. and Wendelborg, C. (2017) Marriage, separation and beyond: a longitudinal study of families of children with intellectual and developmental disabilities in a Norwegian context, *Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities*, 30: 121–32.
- Tozer, R., Atkin, K. and Wenham, A. (2013) Continuity, commitment and context: adult siblings of people with autism plus learning disability, *Health and Social Care in the Community*, 21(5): 480–8.
- Tronto, J. (2017) There is an alternative: *homines curans* and the limits of neoliberalism, *International Journal of Care and Caring*, 1(1): 27–43, <https://doi.org/10.1332/239788217X14866281687583>
- Van Winkle, Z. and Fasang, A. (2017) Complexity in employment life courses in Europe in the twentieth century – large cross-national differences but little change across birth cohorts, *Social Forces*, 96(1): 1–29.
- Wenger, G.C. and Keating, N. (2008) The evolution of networks of rural older adults, in N Keating (ed) *Rural ageing: A good place to grow old*, Bristol: Policy Press, pp 33–42.
- Werner, S., Edwards, M. and Baum, N. (2009) Family quality of life before and after out-of-home placement of a family member with an intellectual disability, *Journal of Policy and Practice in Intellectual Disabilities*, 6(1): 32–9.
- Yeandle, S., Chou, Y.-C., Fine, M., Larkin, M. and Milne, A. (2017) Care and caring: interdisciplinary perspectives on a societal issue of global significance, *International Journal of Care and Caring*, 1(1): 3–25.
- Yu, D., Cheng, S.-T. and Wang, J. (2018) Unravelling the positive aspects of caregiving in dementia: an integrative review of research literature, *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 79: 1–26.
- Železná, L. (2018) Care-giving to grandchildren and elderly parents: role conflict or family solidarity?, *Ageing & Society*, 38(5): 974–94.